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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Mansion House Fund for the famine-stricken Indians has mounted up to £260,000, an addition of some £10,000 during the past week. It must still be urged, however, that the amount is gravely inadequate to the needs of the occasion. Again (May 29) Mr. Maclean appealed to the Government to assist the Indian administration. Again Lord George Hamilton repeated his futile declarations. He described the famine as the worst of the century; everybody is agreed. He "read a communication which had been sent to him containing evidence that the Indian Government was doing all that could be done to save the lives of the people." A communication from whom, and on what authority? We do not doubt for a moment, nor have we ever doubted, that the officials on the spot have been doing, and are now doing, their very utmost to save life. But that is not by any means "all that could be done." There could be more men and more nurses, and these could be furnished with more money. The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, writing on May 1, as we pointed out last week, said "the existing service is not strong enough to grapple with famine, let alone cholera;" and now their efforts are distracted and complicated with the horrors of cholera. Is this the fact, or is it not? It will certainly take very definite and full explanations to shake our confidence in this correspondent. But Lord George Hamilton gives no explanation at all. If, as he says, "the whole financial resources of India" are at the service of the famine, and the British Treasury is behind the Government of India, why is the existing service "not strong enough to grapple with the famine"? Till this question is answered, it is mere waste of words to tell the people that there is "no lack of funds," and to maintain on that ground his refusal to ask the House to supplement the charitable contributions of the world.

It may be—it probably is—the fact, as Mr. J. D. Rees states in a letter to the *Times* (May 28, though dated May 16), "there certainly never yet was a calamity of this character which Government did so much to alleviate." We give the utmost credit to the Government for what it has done. The point is that it has not done, and is not doing, "all that could be done." It has admitted that it was forewarned and prepared; it has professed to put its whole treasury at the disposal of the afflicted. Yet "the existing service is not strong enough to grapple with the famine." That is the point, and it is no answer to say that the Government has done more than any previous Government has ever done, however meritorious such unexampled action may be. We do not think there is any confusion in the British mind, such as Mr. Rees deprecates, as to the sphere of Government action and the sphere of charitable action. The one is supplementary to the other. But there is a margin where they come into very close contact, and indeed interpenetrate each other. It will hardly be contended that the efficient application of charitable contributions will not materially relieve the pressure upon relief, both on the works and apart from the works. Nor, we conceive, will any one venture to deny that a national contribution of several millions to the charitable funds would not only provide a vast number with painfully needed "additional comforts," but in fact save lives as certainly as if the wretched people went to the relief works of the Government.

We quite agree with Mr. Rees that "it is as well that the English Press should avoid the adoption of errors which may lend colour to sinister suggestions from unfriendly quarters to the effect that we tax the people almost to death and then let them starve." We are sworn enemy to all sorts of errors, as well as to this particular error—that is to say, if it be an error. To our minds it is as plain as the noonday sun that if the taxation were less, fewer of the cultivators would fall into the hands of the moneylenders, more of them would have a store of food, money, or credit, or all three, against the day of famine, and fewer of them therefore would run the risk of starvation. If Mr. Rees means that there is no connexion between the revenue assessment and the feebleness of the cultivator's resistance to the outset of famine, we hold very decidedly that it is he that is in error. He says, indeed, that "the numbers affected by famine are largest in the most lightly assessed districts of the most lightly assessed province in India, the Central Provinces." But Mr. Romesh Dutt sees the facts in a very different light, and he knows quite as much about the matter as Mr. Rees. Mr. Dutt wrote to the *Times* (April 12):—

> I regret to add that the cultivators of the Deccan, Southern India, and Central Provinces who pay rents to the State, or whose lands are assessed by the State officers, generally pay the highest rents of any land occupiers in British India, and are therefore most indebted, most resourceless, most subject to famine after bad harvests. This, sir, is a question of fact, and not of opinion.

It would be well for Mr. Rees to see Mr. Romesh Dutt's recent letters to the Viceroy (commented on in India, March 9, vol. xiii., p. 109-10), his letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (reprinted in India, March 2, vol. xiii, p. 105), and his letter to the *Times* (March 24; reprinted in India, March 30, vol. xiii., p. 152). With regard to the Central Provinces, we quote the last mentioned letter:—

> The worst case, however, is that of the Central Provinces of India. There the Government fixes the rents payable by cultivators to landlords, and also fixes its own share of revenue out of the landlords' receipts. The principle on which the rents are fixed is the same as in Madras: theoretically, one-half of the net produce of the soil is fixed as rent; practically, the assessments have been even harsher than in Madras. I have carefully ascertained facts from the best authorities: it was only yesterday that a distinguished gentleman, now a member of Lord Curzon's Legislative Assembly, was kind enough to place documents and facts in my hands; and this morning I have received a letter from another well-informed gentleman, who writes thus from the Central Provinces:—
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> "The rent payable by every class of tenants in these provinces has been enhanced by the settlement officers at the recent settlement. The rent so fixed is generally high, and can only be recovered, even in good years, with difficulty. Since the year of the recent settlement (1894), a good portion of the land which was cultivated before has become fallow. The Government revenue is still in arrears, notwithstanding the hard measures adopted last year for its recovery."

At a later point Mr. Dutt proceeds:—

> In many districts in the Central Provinces the Government demands and obtains 50 per cent., *plus* 12½ per cent. as rates, of the landlords' supposed assets. And as the landlord never gets the high rents which the Government has fixed, it comes to pass that the Government demand amounts sometimes to 80, or even 100 per cent., of the landlords' real income. I have instances before me in which landlords have offered to surrender their property because the Government revenue demand from them was really more than all they collected from cultivators.

There is yet another point to consider. Mr. Rees says that "failure to feed the hungry has occurred only in areas under Native rulers which are neither immediately taxed nor administered by the British Indian Government." Now, how does Mr. Rees know? Lord George Hamilton has refused to submit statistics to the people of this country. Where did Mr. Rees obtain his statistics? We have expressed our anxiety to know the effects of the famine, but we have not been able to obtain any trustworthy figures, such as would

justify Mr. Rees's statement. We are quite prepared to learn that the processes of famine relief have proved less efficient in Native States—these being less accustomed to famine, and less prepared for such a desperate onset—than in British Indian territory. Still, it is better not to prejudge the case, in the absence of adequate information. We must therefore ask our readers to ignore Mr. Rees's assertion until he produce satisfactory evidence in support of it. We are but too familiar with the insidious attempts of officials and their friends to cover Government shortcomings by thrusting forward a comparison of the Government of India with the Native States. We are quite aware, too, that the Native States "are neither immediately taxed nor administered by the British Indian Government," but we know something of the powers, legal and actual, of our Residents and agents in Native States.

A well-informed Indian correspondent writes:—"One can understand the anxiety of Anglo-Indian officials to disconnect the present famine in India from severe assessments, but Mr. J. D. Rees taxes the credulity of British readers a little too much when he says that the famine is most severe in the most lightly assessed parts of India. What would be the moral? Tax Indian soil heavily and famines will be rarer; take all that the cultivators produce and famines will disappear. Is that Mr. Rees's conclusion? If we take large areas and large periods under consideration, the reverse of what Mr. Rees alleges is true. Famines have been most frequent and most fatal where the assessment has been most severe. In Bengal and Northern India the land revenue is between five and ten per cent. of the gross produce of the soil, and famines have been comparatively less frequent and less severe than elsewhere in India within the last twenty-five or thirty years. In Madras the land revenue is between twelve and thirty-one per cent. of the produce in assessed areas (*vide* Report of the Famine Commission of 1878, Appendix III, p. 394), and when famine appeared in Madras in 1878 five millions of the people perished. In Bombay the incidence of the land revenue is higher than elsewhere in India, being Rs. 3 15 5 per acre (*vide* Administration Report for 1898-99 Statistical Reports, p. 75), and the present famine is proportionately severe and will claim its hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of victims. In the Central Provinces the land revenue was enhanced *over a hundred per cent.* in some districts in the last settlement (*vide* Annexures to the Honourable B. K. Bose's last Budget speech in the Viceroy's Council), and the famines of 1897 and 1900 have been accordingly disastrous in those provinces.

"When Mr. Rees calls the Central Provinces of India the most lightly assessed portion of India he betrays a child-like and almost touching faith in certain very ingenious but very unreal percentages which the Famine Commission of 1878 presented to the world (Report, vol. ii, p. 112), and which have since been favourite figures with officials. The percentages were fixed by calculating £5 per ton for food and £3 per acre for non-food crops. The fallacy in this calculation lies in the fact that it assumes an annual produce which India never produces in any year. There are no data for ascertaining how much land is under cultivation in any single year, how much food-crop is grown, and how much non-food crop is grown. The calculation was meant to be only a guess, and is a very bad guess; for it shows the percentage of land revenue on the produce to be 6·3 while in another part of the Report, to which we have already referred, the percentage in the same Province is more correctly shown to be between 12 and 31. And yet such is the zeal of officials to understate the land tax of India, that the figures given by a rough and unsound calculation—by mere guess—have been often quoted even by right hon. gentlemen in the House of Commons, and the figures given in another part of the same Report by responsible and well-informed local officials are never quoted, because they are higher."

The special correspondent of the *Times of India* continues his journey through the famine-stricken districts. "Mere figures," he says, "completely fail to convey any adequate conception of the real significance of famine upon such an awful scale." One district, the Chattisgarh division, which produced an autumn crop of a million tons in 1897, except for a few handfuls of rice and a little millet in the hill tracts has now raised "absolutely nothing."

You can journey hours by rail and weeks by any other method of progression without coming across the most meagre evidences of a crop. Hundreds, nay, thousands, of villages are temporarily deserted by their able-bodied inhabitants who have been driven abroad in search of the means of averting starvation.

In order that the famine districts may recover, the correspondent considers it absolutely necessary that the Government should make liberal remissions of land revenue and large advances for the purchase of seed. Even with a series of good seasons it will take at least five or six years for the Central Provinces to recover.

In the absence of Government information as to the ravages of famine, one can only turn to the Indian Press and pick up and piece together the occasional figures of correspondents in the famine districts. The Ahmedabad correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette*, for instance, writing on May 9, says that "during the last week cholera has caused 21 deaths, fever 306, and starvation 201"; and "of these 564 belonged to the city and the rest to the neighbouring villages." The same journal's Simla correspondent works up this precise statement into the rotund declaration that "people in some of the villages" around Ahmedabad "are dying faster than their bodies can be disposed of." The *Times of India's* special correspondent at Wadham, in Kathiawar, reports that "the mortality of Wadham Camp for the week ended April 23 was 64; the weekly average of the past three years, 4." But the most indefatigable diligence would still leave the compilation very incomplete, and also unauthoritative. The Government, however, must know the facts; that is to say, it must have returns from its officers. Why, then, cannot a copy be issued to the Press and the public?

There are other things that the correspondents help us to know, which the Government would not in any circumstances permit us to know if it could help it. For example, the lack of administrative foresight in Akola, one of the two most severely visited districts in the Berars. The special correspondent of the *Times of India* writes (April 25):—

In the adjoining Central Provinces there is an abundance of fodder. The jungle tribes have cut down and stacked enormous quantities sufficient for the needs of the district and much to spare. Lakhs of pounds of excellent grass, collected as a means of giving relief to the Gonds and Kurkus, will rot simply because of the lack of the means of moving it, while here in the adjoining province, only a few hours by rail, cattle are perishing by 40, 50, and 75 per cent. from sheer starvation. Was it impossible to concert any measures to bring the food which lay in abundance to the cattle which were dying for want of it? Was it also impossible to devise any means of the saving of valuable animal life, so as not to be dependent upon private enterprise to supply some of the awful wastage?

The Gaekwar of Baroda seized the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Orsang Irrigation Works on May 3 to speak words of wisdom on "the terrible visitation under which the country is suffering." "It points with terrible emphasis," he said, "to the disastrous economic condition of the people, on which all progress and Government ultimately rest. It warns both Government and people that this great problem must be speedily grappled with: if from indolence or ignorance they neglect it, it will be on peril of stagnation, deterioration, and decay." The immediate duty is centred in relief, and the Gaekwar judiciously estimated the relative value of three kinds of relief measures: those that give relief merely, but go no further; those that are indirectly productive, such as means of communication; and those that are directly productive, and, therefore, not only a relief of present, but a preventive of future, famines—such as irrigation works. The Government, the Gaekwar professed, had done its best for the people. "But," he added, "we shall be surely blind and imbecile if we stop here and neglect the broader lessons which this terrible experience of famine ought to impel us to approach."

What are those broader lessons? The Gaekwar struck at the root of the matter. "How is it," he asked, "that the people of this country have fallen into such a condition that stamina seems altogether wanting to them?" His answer is this:—

Now, though I cannot touch here all the minor causes and issues, yet the grand total to which they sum up is indisputable. It is the great poverty of the people. Improved communications have provided

sufficient means of supply from outside when the harvest within the country fails. But of what use are these if there is no money to purchase such supplies? Poverty is the great fact of India.

The Gaekwar, however, while facing this "great fact of India" with a frankness that puts to shame the ostrich-like make-believe of our own Government, touched on other mischiefs as well:—

To this, I fear, I must add many defects of character, of which perhaps poverty is partly a result and partly a parent source; want of real thrift, want of energy and enterprise, of legitimate ambition, and a high ideal; passiveness, fatalism, and supineness in the face of calamity. . . . Behind this poverty, connected with this absence of self-help, is another great characteristic fact: the population of India depends almost entirely on two means of subsistance, the educated classes on Government service, and the uneducated on agriculture. . . .

So something must be done "to encourage the growth of trades and industries." The great thing is to discern the mischief clearly, and to be willing to apply the obvious remedies.

The *Pioneer* contains two letters protesting against the examination of railway passengers and the disinfection of their clothes, even when they do not come from an area infected with plague. The writers represent very different sections of society, one being a missionary and the other an Indian who signs himself "Sirdar," yet the feelings aroused in each are remarkably similar. The Rev. Mr. Newton, the missionary, tells how the carefully prepared clothing of two girls on their way to school was thrown into the disinfecting cauldron, into which were also thrown the certificates produced to show that they had come from a place free of plague. He adds:—

Now when such outrages are perpetrated by Government officials on respectable travellers do you wonder that the people are driven to such a verge of madness, such as culminated in the Cawnpore riot the other day? Are they not a long-suffering people to endure it at all?

The Sirdar complains of the way the police are allowed to tyrannise over the people, and concludes thus:—

We are a docile race amenable to all law and order. Famine and pestilence are rife among us. Why then should we have added another and an avoidable trouble?

Sir George White the other day put in a kind word for the British Indian Natives who have won golden opinions from all observers by their conduct as stretcher-bearers, grass-cutters, and so forth, in the South Africa campaign. He had a great number of them with him in Ladysmith, and we print elsewhere some illustrative stories he told about their usefulness and their coolness in perilous conditions. While acknowledging the munificence of the public subscriptions for our soldiers and sailors, Sir George wished "to say a word for these poor followers, who are drawing pay at Indian rates, which puts them on very inferior terms to the soldiers with whom they are serving, and in very inferior conditions to those which they would be enjoying in their own country at the same rates." Such recognition from a former Indian Commander-in-Chief and a present popular hero is very gratifying, and we hope it will evoke a substantial subscription on behalf of the Indians. But we trust that a far more important matter will be kept very distinctly in mind when the settlement comes, and that is the restoration of the British Indians in Natal, the Transvaal, and elsewhere in South Africa, to their proper social and political position.

Those who love to contemplate the vicissitudes of fortune may view without remorse the sad state of the royal family of Manipur. The guilty brothers, it might be thought, had already paid the penalty of the crimes that were committed, one having been executed and the other having been transported for life; but it seems that punishment must be inflicted on their innocent families as well. It is not thus that the English in India have been wont to treat the wives and children of their enemies. The *Bengalee*, which has taken up the case of the Princes of the House of Manipur, vouches for the truth of the following account:—

Tikendrajit's wives and children are leading the lives of exiles ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-treated by the officials who preside over their petty destinies. The four sons of Tikendrajit are getting monthly allowance at the rate of Rs. 15 each. The wives of Kulachandra and Tikendrajit have not been granted any subsistence allowance, and they have to earn their bread with the sweat of their brow. I have personally inspected their quarters and carefully examined the details of their mode of living; and I can say without the least fear of contradiction that their houses are so many pigstyes, their furniture the scantiest possible, and the necessaries of life most indifferently supplied! The squalid poverty in which they are at present grovelling cannot fail to excite the generous sympathy of the most phlegmatic observer. I appeal to the present ruler of Assam, who is said to be the people's friend, to extend his gracious sympathy to the helpless wives and children of the ill-fated chiefs of Manipur, who are now in a woeful predicament, unknown, unheard, and uncared for.

In the course of a well deserved tribute to Mr. Justice Parsons, who has just retired from the High Court of Bombay, the *Times of India* makes some remarks which may well be taken to heart by those who proclaim the unfitness of the Indian for high office. Speaking of the retiring judge it says:—

For many years past he has sat in the same court as Mr. Justice Ranade. The combination is one which will be long remembered with regret. Each supplemented the other. Mr. Justice Ranade supplied an unrivalled acquaintance with Hindu Law and with the practical working of a number of the Acts which had to be interpreted by the court. His knowledge of his own countrymen proved not infrequently of use in throwing light where even his colleague's experience, large as it was, was at fault.

Could there be a stronger plea for the appointment of more Indian judges so that in every court there could be a similar combination?

The history of the proposed Educational Rules in Madras should be very encouraging to Indian reformers. It will be remembered that the teachers of the Province were in October last thrown into a state of consternation by a new rule that teachers in schools and colleges aided by the Government and even the managers thereof were for the future to take no part in politics, or even attend political meetings without permission. As a result of protests and petitions a conference of educational officers was convened under the presidency of the new Director of Public Instruction, which declared the new rules unnecessary and mischievous. The conference, however, considered that some restraint should be put on pupils taking part in politics. The Government, more liberal still, have now decided that managers, teachers and pupils may take part in political agitation, provided it is not directed against "the authority of Government." And the *Hindu* considers that this proviso cannot be a cause of complaint, as under the present law it is equally applicable to all her Majesty's Indian subjects.

It is, indeed, a curious coincidence that at the very moment when Sir Howard Vincent is suggesting that all English boys be made to learn to shoot, some Anglo-Indians are asking that Indians should be forbidden even to carry *lathis*, which, it is said, in the hands of the Indian villager are dangerous to the timid and inoffensive British soldier. If the carrying of *lathis* is forbidden to the law-abiding, it will be a fine time for the robber and the bully. The *Hindu*, on the contrary, thinks that the time has come for some modification of the Arms Act so that men of proved respectability may be allowed to carry arms.

The state of affairs at Dinapore is becoming more serious day by day. The British soldiers stationed there are getting beyond control. The assault on the soldiers which led to so fierce an outburst from the *Englishman* has left a very bitter feeling among their comrades and great alarm prevails in the villages around. So long, indeed, as the soldiers retaliated only on civilian Indians the matter did not seriously threaten the peace of the country. But the gravity of the situation, according to the *Tribune*,

has been greatly intensified since the assault committed by some of them on a sepoy of a Native infantry regiment a few days ago. There was naturally great excitement among the sepoys and a serious fracas was imminent, but the danger was fortunately averted by the prompt intervention of the officers who were wise enough to foresee the result of such an unfortunate affair.

Save us from injudicious friends! "The City of Bombay," we learn, "has decided to erect a marble statue to the late Governor, Lord Sandhurst." If we remember rightly, this is the city that could not manage to get up a public address to Lord Sandhurst on his departure to England. Now his friends, speaking in the name of the City of Bombay—with what warrant may easily be guessed—are going to embody in marble their commemoration of a Governor who will be remembered for his administrative feebleness in face of an exceptionally trying task—a feebleness tempered indeed with good intentions and good nature. One can only hope that better sense will yet prevail.

THE BOGEY OF DISLOYALTY.

FROM time to time, in certain quarters in India, there is repeated the baseless and absurd allegation that the critics of British rule desire its overthrow. Nothing could well be more preposterous—that is to say, from the point of view of people who regard dispassionately the facts of Indian thought and feeling on the subject. Unhappily, there is a contingent of Anglo-Indian officials—and they do not lack friendly co-operation in the Anglo-Indian Press—who always contemplate the Natives of India, and especially the educated Natives, through green and yellow glasses. To such specialised observers any symptom of the British characteristics of manly self-respect and self-confidence exhibited by an educated Native is an intolerable trespass upon British preserves. The elder generations of civilians held very different views. They had no notion of humiliating themselves and their country by domineering over a race of slaves or serfs, but took pride in cultivating the Native qualities to the fullest purpose and evoking all that was best in the Native character and intellect in the common work of civilised government and administration. If it be alleged that the danger arises on the military side, then it can be answered that no official, civil or military, has ever declared his confidence in a policy of complete freedom in such emphatic terms as Sir Charles Napier, a British-Indian Commander-in-Chief. If it be alleged that the mischief lies in the frankness of Indian journals, then one may pass by the existence of a stringent law of recent reimposition and recall the fact that Lord William Bentinck, than whom never was Governor-General more pitilessly criticised, declared that he found more useful information in the columns of his critics than he obtained from all the other sources open to him. It never entered into the heads of the strong men of those times that the severest and least considered criticisms had the smallest root of disloyalty. Now, apparently, it is different.

The natural course would be for the alarmists to produce the evidence on which they found their allegation of disloyalty. This they carefully refrain from doing. For are they not differently placed from other men? Their word is to be taken on matters of opinion and inference as well as on matters of objective fact, without any supporting particulars whatever. Of course the head and front of Native offending is found in the Congress. The Congress courageously points out defects in the government and administration of India, and its official opponents immediately interpret the fact as a disloyal symptom. But this is a very old story nowadays. Indeed, we had supposed that the Congress had long outlived the period of miserable vilification and abuse; but as there exist no specific grounds for a charge of disloyalty—did not even Lord Lansdowne describe the Congress as the Indian equivalent of the British "forward Liberal party?"—the only thing left for its opponents to do is to attempt to triumph by persistent repetition of baseless assertions. Is it the fact that there are no defects in the government and administration? If not, why should they not be pointed out? On the contrary, is it not a grave duty to point them out, and to suggest measures of amelioration? It is alike the object and the bounden duty of the Congress to call attention to defects and to exert all its influence for their removal from the body politic. Is it conceivable to any person outside officialdom that the Congress would labour so strenuously, and in the teeth of so many and so serious disadvantages, to remove defects from an organisation that it was seeking to overthrow and abolish? The proceedings of the Congress are open to any person that cares to witness them. They are fully reported and gathered into permanent records that any person may read and re-read. Its opponents may be challenged to produce from these records the slightest suggestion of disloyalty; its friends are able to produce the most enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty. In the preface to "Indian Politics" Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, first and eighth President of the Congress—a gentleman who has more than once resisted pressure to accept a Judgeship of the High Court—affirms expressly that "no charge can be more absolutely devoid of foundation than" this very allegation, namely, "that the educated Indian is seditious at heart, which, in plain language, means that he desires the overthrow of British rule in India." If Mr. Bonnerjee be right there ought to be an end of the matter. If Mr. Bonnerjee be wrong then it is for the opponents of the Congress to bring forward the particulars of the evidence on which they rest their offensive allegation.

After all, Mr. Bonnerjee simply puts into a single general statement the uniform testimony of all the other leaders of the Congress party. No man has argued the Indian case with more freedom and point than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, but where is the man that would venture to put his name to the assertion that Mr. Dadabhai is disloyal? In his Presidential Address at the second Congress, in 1886, Mr. Dadabhai said:—

> I put the question plainly: Is this Congress a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British Government? (No, no!) Or is it another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government? (Yes, yes!) There could be but one answer, and that you have already given. . . . When we have to acknowledge so many blessings as flowing from British rule—and I could descant on them for hours, because it would simply be recounting to you the history of the British Empire in India—is it possible that an assembly like this, every one of whose members is fully impressed with the knowledge of these blessings, could meet for any purpose inimical to that rule to which we owe so much? (Cheers.) The thing is absurd. Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone? (Cheers.)

It would be carrying coals to Newcastle to cite further evidence from the Congress utterances. But it may be useful to remind official detractors that a quarter of a century before Mr. Dadabhai spoke to the Calcutta Congress Sir Bartle Frere had declared his conviction of the loyalty and helpfulness of the educated Indians. "And now," he said, "wherever I go, I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able coadjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the Natives of India, among the ranks of the educated Natives." And only six years before a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State bore emphatic testimony to the loyalty of the people at large and particularly to the loyalty of the educated classes. It ran thus:—

> The people of India accept British rule without any need for appeal to arms, because we keep the peace and do justice, because we have done and are doing much material good to the country and the people, and because there is not inside or outside India any power that can adequately occupy our place. . . .
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> To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of British power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion.

These words, quoted by Mr. Dadabhai, were loudly acclaimed by the whole assembly. "We can, therefore," said he, "proceed with the utmost serenity and with every confidence that our rulers do understand us—that they do understand our motives and give credit to our expressions of loyalty; and we need not in the least care for any impeachment of disloyalty or any charge of harbouring wild ideas of subverting the British power that may be put forth by ignorant, irresponsible, or ill-disposed individuals or cliques." To-day, as then, such "ignorant, irresponsible, or ill-disposed individuals or cliques" deserve but unmitigated contempt and patriotic indignation.

The detractors of the Indians—detractors in spite of the pronounced views of the Government itself—forget how entirely it is the interest of the Indians to be loyal. The Indians at all events shrink from the only alternatives—political and social chaos, or an iron despotism from elsewhere. For our own part, in all our experience of educated Indians, we have never met a single one that conveyed the slightest suggestion that the overthrow of British rule in India would be other than a frightful and irreparable calamity for his countrymen. But then neither did we ever meet one who did not claim the right to criticise frankly the principles and methods of the Government and the administration. The attitude is lucidly depicted by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee:—

> The educated Indian has his faults, but whatever these faults may be it cannot be asserted that he is blind to his own material interests and it is his own material interests that sway him altogether towards being loyal and contented, as loyal subjects should be contented, towards the Government. Indeed, the principle on which the Indian National Congress is based is that British rule should be permanent and abiding in India, and that, given this axiom, it is the duty of educated Indians to endeavour to the best of their power to help their rulers so to govern the country as to improve her material prosperity and make the people of all classes and communities happy and prosperous and contented as subjects of the British Empire.

Surely no more satisfactory attitude could possibly be adopted, or any more efficient guarantee of its genuineness conceived. The point of conflict arises on the principles and details of action. So long as it is agreed that British rule

on British principles is the sort of British rule that is good for India, there is no room for cavil. The difficulty emerges when "ignorant, irresponsible, or ill-disposed individuals or cliques" begin to clamour because educated Indians object to incidents of British rule which seem to be modelled on the principles of Oriental despotism. To the plain man it would appear that the disloyalty really lies with those who do not frankly work for the fulfilment of the intentions of the British Sovereign and the British people as expressed in Acts of Parliament and in the memorable Proclamation of 1858. These are the dangerous people—not the educated Natives who insist on British rule on British principles, and claim the honourable satisfaction of spontaneous Imperial pledges. But the public, both Indian and British, are unlikely to be misled. It ought to be obvious enough that, though a man may vehemently urge the impropriety of the combination of judicial and executive functions in the same officer, he may no less ardently desire to see the administration of justice working in the utmost purity and perfection. The most strenuous remonstrances against the waste of Indian money on trans-frontier expeditions cannot in any reasonable mind argue a desire to see the Indian territory invaded and overrun by an enemy. When disloyalty was discerned in certain press criticisms, what did Sir Richard Garth—who presumably is not disloyal—say? This:—

> I read Native papers myself, week after week, and never see anything there at all approaching sedition, or even disloyalty or disrespect to English rule. What I do find there, and what I rejoice to find, is thoroughly well-deserved censure of the arbitrary conduct of many of the Government officials. I am afraid this is exactly what the Government would wish to repress.

The true meaning of this allegation of disloyalty, which crops up from time to time, is simply official impatience of perfectly reasonable criticism. The continuous fire of criticism may seem to hasty observers an index to a wish for the abolition of the object criticised. But that is clearly a profound mistake. The critic cannot always be prefacing his criticisms with a profession of loyalty, which is well known to exist, and is in fact the very basis of the effort of criticism. The Indian position was well put by the Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjea in his Presidential Address at Poona in 1895:

> We oppose bad measures. We support good measures. We may oppose the policy of the Government, but we impute no motives. Above all, our opposition is not dictated by any considerations of party-spirit, but by the sole and single-minded desire to serve our countrymen and to broaden and deepen the foundations of British rule upon the unchangeable basis of a nation's affections.

If the Indian side of the case received ampler consideration, and if British-Indian officials only opened their eyes to the political value of "a nation's affections," we should hear no more of this futile, offensive, and ridiculous allegation of Indian disloyalty.

THE CONTROL OF INDIAN FINANCE, AS SEEN BY THE MAJORITY OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

ALTHOUGH the Majority Report bears evident traces of its origin, being like the majority official and moderate rather than independent and decided, nevertheless there is much in it that will well repay our attention. As a whole, and considered in its main outlines, it has already been discussed in these pages; but there are many nooks and corners of it which will bear a closer scrutiny. Here are the recommendations of a number of men almost all of whom have been connected either with the Government of India or with that of England, they are free from the slightest taint of revolutionary sympathies, they have no inclination to drastic reform, they have taken the most limited view possible of the scope of their enquiry. If then they find aught amiss, it can hardly be doubted that the fault is one demanding a remedy. If when brought face to face with facts they can no longer maintain an attitude of official optimism, then, indeed, it is certain that the need of reform is urgent.

The first chapter of the Majority Report gives an account of the financial machinery of the Government of India, with the conclusion at which the majority arrived, and some remarks on the audit of the Indian accounts. It is not our intention at present to touch on this last subject, which occasioned some disagreement among the members of the majority, and has already been noticed in our columns. The part to which our attention will be confined is the question of financial control, especially as it affects military expenditure. And before we consider the position of the Financial Member of Council, it may be well to take from the Report a few points bearing on the general question of control.

Those ignorant of Indian affairs, who chance to see a report of a debate on the Budget in the Legislative Council, may imagine that that body can exercise some control over the finances of the country. If he be an admirer of English institutions, he may think proudly of the germ of a new Parliament arising in the East to carry on the traditions of English liberty. Whether this would be desirable or not, it is scarcely necessary to say that it has no foundation in fact. The Budget, after being approved by the Financial Member, "is laid before and passed by the Governor-General in Executive Council." Lest this should not be plain enough for English readers, the Report goes on to say: "The Legislative Council does not vote the Budget. It can comment upon it, but it may not alter or amend it." It will thus be seen that financial control rests primarily with the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

It is a truism that the closer the body by which money is voted, the more necessary is the free play of public opinion, and the more urgent is it that the accounts should be presented in such a form as to be intelligible to outside critics. A committee of experienced and independent men appointed by a popular assembly to which in the end they will have to report, may be trusted to find their way through the intricacies of official finance. But a small body of officials, such as the Viceroy's Executive Council, will be all the better if their proceedings are kept in the public eye. It is, therefore, desirable that the larger aspects of Indian finance should be kept perfectly clear, and more especially that the sums spent on each department should be distinguishable at a glance. How far this is from being the case, the following extract will show:—

> The cost of military works is defrayed, not from the military budget, but from the public works budget. All important military works are executed by a separate department under the Director-General of Military Works, who frames the estimate for this branch of service, and sends it to the Central Public Works Department for insertion in the budget of Public Works. The Public Works Department is, therefore, so far as military works are concerned, simply the Paymaster of a branch of Army expenditure, which it neither orders nor controls; and thus over Rx. 1,000,000 a year of military expenditure appear in the estimates and accounts under the head of Civil Expenditure, though shown separately.

But not only are the public thus deceived as to the actual military expenditure, but the military element is over-represented in the Executive Council. The military member of course has a seat, and the Commander-in-Chief is almost invariably there also. "Thus a somewhat disproportionate weight of voting power is apparently given to military opinion in the Council, which, including the Viceroy, consists of seven members." Nor is this state of things really bettered by the theoretical possibility that the military member might act as a check on the extravagance of the Commander-in-Chief. Practically, what happens is that each member representing a department struggles for a large share of the available revenue; but the military member being backed up by the Commander-in-Chief has an obvious advantage which he is not slow to use. And in face of all the departments, each crying out for expansion, the Financial Member is at an obvious disadvantage unless he can obtain the powerful assistance of the Viceroy.

The majority of the Commissioners, while holding that the powers of the Financial Member are theoretically sufficient, admit that in practice this is not so. They contrast the power of the Financial Department in India with that of the Treasury in England, much to the disadvantage of the former. Here the Prime Minister usually presides over the Treasury, and the Cabinet in listening to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's pleas for economy know that his arguments, if ignored there, will be heard again from less friendly voices in the House of Commons. But the real difficulty of the Financial Member's position has of late years arisen from the new military policy which, owing to their rigid interpretation of the reference, the Commissioners decline to discuss. They, however, permit themselves to say:—

> When questions of national defence, or, it may be, of spirited policy, have gained the public ear, financial considerations lose weight not only in India but elsewhere, and the balance can only be restored if and when the public ceases to demand large expenditure.

But they add :—

It is more important in India than in self-governing countries that the financial coat should be cut according to the cloth.

It is to be regretted that after this excellent observation, the Majority did not see their way to suggest that the over-representation of the military department should cease. But it is of still more importance that it should be made clear that expenditure depends on policy, that aggression and economy cannot subsist together, and that changes in the financial machinery will not prevent the country having to pay for wars beyond the frontier.

But the exactions of the military department, though some may think them less defensible than those of the other departments, are really only the same in kind. Each department has a vivid consciousness of its own needs and its own services; each wishes to dip into the public treasury; each proclaims the benefits it could confer on the country, were it not for a policy of cheese-paring to which efficiency is sacrificed; and against this general clamour, what refuges are there for the Minister of Finance? Two only are suggested, the support of the Viceroy and that of the Secretary of State for India. Now it is admitted that the Viceroy is able to help. Nominally, he may be only one in seven; really, his opinion may well outweigh that of the other six. But the Viceroy, though he is not the spokesman of a department, is usually the exponent of a policy. And if that policy be one of military adventure beyond the frontier he will be not the ally but the opponent of the Financial Member. And so we reach again the point we were at before. Retrenchment is only in very small measure the outcome of good financial machinery and suitable methods of control. It depends far more on the policy adopted by the Government. And this is, of course, the fundamental weakness of the majority Report. Considering themselves bound by the terms of reference to exclude all questions of policy, the Commissioners at the same time excluded the governing factors in the financial situation.

The same arguments apply in equal or nearly equal force to that other possible ally of the Financial Member, the Secretary of State for India. If he be committed to a policy requiring a large expenditure, it is hopeless to think that he will aid in its curtailment. Nevertheless, both from the Parliamentary atmosphere in which he lives, and his freedom from many interests which appeal strongly to the Viceroy, it is probable that his general inclination will be in favour of economy. The Commissioners, therefore, think that there should be greater facilities offered for confidential communications from the Financial Member to the Secretary of State. For this purpose it is suggested by Lord Cromer that

the Financial Member (in common with other Members of Council) should be at liberty, if he wishes it, to state his opinion in a confidential memorandum which should not be published without his consent, but should be forwarded through the Viceroy to the Secretary of State.

And the Commissioners think that this suggestion deserves favourable consideration. But it must not be forgotten that the more you make use of the Secretary of State as an influence in favour of economy, the more you undermine the financial independence of India, so artificial yet so highly prized by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Nay, it may seem that by thus having recourse to the control of the Secretary of State you pave the way for that bogey of the Anglo-Indian world—control by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It is not our intention here to argue whether that would be an advantage or a disadvantage. It is sufficient to point out that the recommendations of even these ultra-moderate Commissioners tend, whether they recognise it or not, in this very direction.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

APOSTLES of the gospel of work have an excellent field for missionary effort in the present Parliament. Idle apprentices fill both Houses. When Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman rose some days ago to implore Mr. Balfour to relieve the anxiety of members as to the duration of the Whitsuntide recess some pharisaical voices were raised in protest. It was the war they were anxious about, they said, not the length of the holidays. Nevertheless, the Liberal leader had given fairly accurate expression to the general feeling. For every three weeks of work in the current Session members have rewarded themselves with a week's holiday. They had more than a fortnight at Easter, and now they are having nearly three weeks at Whitsuntide. Strenuous souls like Sir William Harcourt have become so sick of the pretence that they have abandoned even the shadow of diligence and are passing the time in frank and unabashed dalliance elsewhere. Parliament is prematurely moribund. It may try to brighten life by dawdling over its labours and by resorting to frequent intervals of rest, but these are signs of decay and an infallible premonition of the end.

When one thinks of the noise that the South Manchester election has made in the political world, the indifference with which the House of Commons received the news can only be recalled with wonder. A Ministerial majority of less than a hundred soared up into a majority of more than two thousand, yet nobody looked a penny the worse or a farthing the better. What can be the cause of this lethargy? It is of quite recent date. When a Conservative succeeded to a Conservative at York some months ago the House of Commons became so excited that it lost its manners and almost drowned the voice of the leader of the Opposition in a buzz of eager conversation. A similar, if more decorous, manifestation of Parliamentary interest was witnessed on the occasion of the recent Liberal victory at Portsmouth. The explanation may be that in both those cases it was the unexpected that happened, while in the case of Manchester the prophets had discounted the result by the unanimity and accuracy of their forecasts. A second and more striking explanation is possible. Although a triumph for the Government the election was at once interpreted as the death warrant of the present Parliament. Perhaps members thought it unseemly to applaud the prospect of their own dissolution.

For the same reason, presumably, Mr. Peel had a singularly cold reception when he appeared at the bar on Monday to take his seat for South Manchester. Tall, handsome, youthful, and self-possessed, the new member showed none of the grisly attributes with which a fanciful imagination might have endowed the reputed herald of dissolution. On the contrary there was an expression of hopefulness and vivacity in the dark, clever eyes which has long since disappeared from the jaded countenances of more experienced legislators. Mr. Peel, however, must have suffered a disappointment on the very threshold of his Parliamentary career. Every political club in the Kingdom had been ringing with the noise of his achievement. The newspapers had been full of its splendour, and Mr. Chamberlain himself, with that philosophic moderation of phrase for which he is distinguished, had described it as "a triumph for the Imperial forces." Nevertheless, the hero of it all was allowed to take his seat with no greater demonstration than is sometimes made by Mr. Swift MacNeill when he scores on a a point of order.

Curiously enough, the only Ministerial allusion that has yet been made in Parliament to the dissolution rumours emanated from Lord George Hamilton in the course of a perfunctory conversation on the famine in India. The incident was utterly irrelevant, but one looks for irrelevances in a debate on the motion for adjournment. Moreover, the noble lord had the excuse of a bad example. Mr. Labouchere had appealed to the Government to take the House of Commons into its confidence as to the date of the general election, while Mr. Maclean in raising the question of the famine had deviated for a moment into a discussion of the same fascinating subject. Lord George almost crowed with joy over what he described as the craven fears and spasmodic alarms of the member for Northampton. "When I first came into Parliament," he declared, "Radical members were always professing their eagerness to be in touch with the constituencies, but now the one thing they dread is that they should be sent back to the country." Mr. Labouchere was ironically exhorted to pluck up his courage and to remember for his better encouragement the success with which the Unionist party by sticking to its principles had at length become a power in the State. "You stick to your guns too," said Lord George with an exultant laugh, "and whether your constituents elect or reject you they will at least respect you." A remarkable feature of this outburst was that it failed to elicit any sign of feeling from an apathetic House—unless, indeed, account is to be taken of the irresponsible interjections of Dr.

Tanner. For the rest, the Liberals simply smiled, while the Unionists moved uneasily in their seats.

Less animated and more apologetic were the comments of the Secretary for India on Mr. Maclean's picture of death and destitution in the famine-stricken districts of the unhappy country. The subject was worthy of a fuller House and a more searching discussion. Unfortunately, its turn came at the end of a long and miscellaneous debate on every variety of topics, with the result that Mr. Maclean's vivid and almost agonising speech was delivered to empty benches. When Lord George Hamilton rose to reply his sole companion on the Treasury bench was Mr. Wyndham, and when he finished it was to find that Mr. Wyndham had been replaced by Mr. Powell Williams. Mr. Balfour and the other Cabinet Ministers had evidently exhausted their energies in the debate on Ritualism which had occupied the earlier part of the evening. The subject, of course, is one on which votes are likely to be won and lost at the coming general election.

One of Lord George Hamilton's illustrations seemed to have been framed with the object of showing that the extent of the famine had been exaggerated. "It is true," he said, "that there are nearly six million people receiving famine relief, and that there is terrible suffering and in certain districts a very heavy mortality associated with it. But if you compare this proportion of six millions out of a population of three hundred millions with the relief returns at home you will find that you have a larger proportion of people dependent on poor relief in England than you have in India." This remarkable analogue was mildly described by its author as "the other side of the question." It was on that side alone that Lord George cared to dwell. While briefly acknowledging the reality and magnitude of the visitation he strove at the same time to soothe the consciences of his sleepy auditors by assuring them that there was no lack of funds in India to deal with the needs of the people, and that in the event of a deficiency the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to come to the rescue at once. "And then," added the Minister cheerfully, "I hope that in the next two or three days the normal rainfall will have begun, and that within the next two or three weeks we shall witness a steady diminution of famine." Possibly some attempt might have been made to continue the discussion, but Lord George Hamilton with great strategic skill sent members off on another scent by winding up with a piece of dissolution claptrap.

Rumour is again busy with the name of Lord Rosebery. That somewhat incalculable statesman is said to be contemplating a return to active political life—in other words to the leadership of the Liberal party. If a report which has been current within the last day or two may be believed one can only infer that in the action which he is about to take, the ex-Premier enjoys the concurrence and support of Lord Kimberley and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. It is said that he is preparing a manifesto on the issues raised by the war, presumably in the domain of military administration, and that this document will contain a rallying cry for the Liberal party at the approaching general election. A variation of the report credits Lord Rosebery with a strange ambition to join hands with Mr. Chamberlain in the creation of a party which should combine the democracy of Liberalism with the Imperial ideals of Unionism. But Mr. Chamberlain has already got his party. If Lord Rosebery means to come back to politics he will seek readmission by the Liberal door. Many of his old friends are showing an eager desire to bid him welcome.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

THE CAUSES OF FAMINE.

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, May 10.

Famine still holds the field. It is still the one absorbing topic in and out of the Press, and it will continue to be so till the great silence—the "burra chup" of Sir Edwin Arnold—is broken. Meanwhile it is well for India that at this juncture when the majority of members of the House of Commons have chosen to abdicate the responsibility they owe to this country, and burked the very reasonable enquiry contemplated by the motion of Sir W. Wedderburn, two enlightened publicists, one on your side and one in Bombay, should, with public spirit and enterprise which do infinite credit to their profession, have sent representatives of their own to record at first hand from personal observation the facts connected with famine relief operations. The *Times of India* is rendering valuable service in this respect. The able and elaborate letters, describing the actual condition of affairs at the various relief camps in the Presidency of Bombay and in the Central Provinces, which have been appearing in its columns are of more than passing interest. It is to be hoped they will be collected for reference in a permanent form, as they give many a vivid glimpse of the economic condition of the millions now subsisting on State dole, as also of the actualities of the Famine Code in operation. So, too, with the exceedingly well-informed letters now appearing in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* from its special representative. The letter, dated March 30 last, from Nasik is one of the most weighty and critical that have yet appeared. It reflects credit alike on the writer and on the *Guardian*, whose deep and abiding sympathy all India recognises with feelings of the warmest gratitude. By deputing a gentleman of Mr. Vaughan Nash's ability and economic attainments to the scene of the relief operations the *Manchester Guardian* has enhanced our indebtedness. In effect Mr. Nash is ably performing non-officially and independently some of the important work which Sir William Wedderburn was so anxious in India's interests to get performed by the machinery of Parliament. Mr. Nash's letters will doubtless have as much permanent value as those of the representative of the *Times of India*. The one supplements the other, and both should prove of the greatest use to non-official critics of the present policy of the Government. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the *Guardian* will place these letters in a collected form before the British and the Indian public.

The representative of the *Guardian* is going about the afflicted tracts with observant eyes. Nothing seems to escape him; and when he tells us how wide is the difference between the Famine Code in the abstract and in the concrete as administered at present by the authorities, there is reason to pause and review the situation. For one thing, he has now confirmed what our own people have been saying as to the illiberal character of the State dole and the arduous character of the task-work. He is prepared to challenge the Secretary of State on this subject. Will that optimistic authority take up the gauntlet?

It is indeed sad that in its anxiety to save a couple of crores or so, the Government has again revived in practice the old and exploded theory of the one-pound ration. When the Circular of December 29 last was issued by Mr. Holderness, it was universally feared that the Government was taking a false step. We now see plainly what mischief it is doing, and the representative of the *Guardian* confirms our view from personal observation. He reasonably asks how, when prisoners in gaol are allowed a better ration, the famished, already enfeebled by privation, can subsist on the miserable dole. It is deplorable that the Government of India should be influenced by false economy in this matter.

Critics have been discussing in the papers not only the unwisdom of this niggardly policy but the propriety of trying to meet all famine expenditure from revenue. A "merchant" in the columns of the *Statesman* has asked whether it is not possible to earmark the annual grant of 1½ crore of rupees for famine, the Government using interest alone thereon for purposes of pure famine by way of irrigation works and so forth. The principal might again be utilised for mercantile purposes in case of monetary stringency. This plan would not disturb the ordinary cash balances. But apart from the merits or demerits of the suggestions, valuable criticism has been offered thereon by the *Statesman*. Mr. Malabari has asked why famine expenditure should not be met out of loans, so that the present shifting-and-shuffling policy of the Indian Government might be changed. I referred to this plan some months ago and enquired how it is that for purposes of repelling external foes the Government is always eager to spend money like water, but when it comes to repelling an internal enemy like famine it is cheeseparing and refuses to raise a loan, though the latter is a more urgent and everyway a more useful and beneficent task.

I must also mention the exceedingly interesting speech of that enlightened prince H.H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, at the laying of the foundation stone of the Orsang irrigation works in his territory. It contains perhaps no thoughts that are new.

What is striking is that these thoughts are so remarkably in unison with those of educated India. Much has to be read between the lines. It is impossible not to contrast this speech of an indigenous prince on the whole problem of famine, including its prevention, with the rhetorical speech of Lord Curzon. It is but rarely that a Native prince opens his mouth on such a subject. The Gaekwar's main point is that it is the economic condition of the people which has to be seriously looked into. It is this which has crippled their resources, and it is this which sends them at the failure of even a single monsoon to the relief camp. The whole speech is valuable as the deliberate expression of an influential, loyal, and enlightened feudatory of the empire.

The Provincial Conference, after a suspension of four years on account of plague, meets on the 12th at Satara under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Gokaldas Kandas Parekh, a representative man of Gujerat, who will do justice to his task. We may hear at first hand from him much regarding the famine in Gujerat that will be useful. There is again the Khoti Bill and the retrograde district Municipal Bill which will receive the criticism of the chosen delegates of the Presidency; and in all probability the disastrous policy which led to the deportation of the Sirdars Natu will not escape due notice.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

5,730,000 ON RELIEF.

The Secretary of State for India has received (May 29) the following telegram from the Viceroy on the subject of the famine:—

Good rain has fallen in Mysore, scattered showers elsewhere. Cholera unabated in many parts of Bombay and Rajputana, causing much mortality and impeding arrangements for the relief of distress. Numbers of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 1,209,000; Punjab, 165,000; Central Provinces, 1,902,000; Berar, 439,000; Ajmere-Merwara, 141,000; Rajputana States, 472,000; Central India States, 187,000; Bombay Native States, 592,000; Baroda, 95,000; North-Western Provinces, 3,000; Punjab Native States, 33,000; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 71,000; Hyderabad, 401,000; Madras, 16,000; Kashmir, nil; Bengal, 4,000. Total, 5,730,000.

THE MANSION HOUSE FUND.

The Mansion House Fund for the relief of the Indian famine sufferers amounted on Wednesday night to £260,700. The Lord Mayor during the day remitted a further sum of £10,000 to Lord Curzon for relief purposes.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

We take the following from the current issue (May 26) of the *Investors' Review*:—

Subjoined is the list and amount of subscriptions received for our little fund up to date. May we again repeat that it is a fund, every farthing of which will be put to good uses, especially in helping the starved cultivators to replace their lost cattle, and that the more help we can give in this direction the sooner will the distressed provinces and Native States—for they cannot be forgotten in the present misery—recover some of their ancient prosperity? Cheques and postal orders should be drawn to A. J. Wilson, crossed Union Bank of London, Famine Fund Account.

List of Subscriptions.

Amount acknowledged last week	£573	14	0
C. E. and Co., London	2	2	0
Total to date	£575	16	0

Remittances should be made to Mr. A. J. Wilson, *Investors' Review* office, Norfolk House, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

"LIKE A RECURRING DECIMAL."

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—There is an old saying in India that when Hakeems wanted to make money or become famous they helped to enhance the disease of their royal patients and make them appear in greater danger than they really were and then to cure them.

The chronic famine of India has reminded me of the saying. The Government enhances the tax on land; the payment of the enhanced tax leaves to the rayat not more than sufficient to keep his body and soul together. Even in ordinary seasons he is at times compelled to have recourse to illegal gains to enable him to pay the Kist, the Government tax, at the appointed time; add to it any slight freak of nature whereby the rains fail partially or fully, and he is left nothing to live upon. The famine comes on. The rayat is starved. The humanity of Government compels it to keep him alive. The Famine Code is enforced. A famine commissioner is appointed. Grand doings take place. The commissioner gets a C.I.E. The Government becomes famous for its humanity. The newspapers get plenty of matter to write upon. The Settlement Commissioner at the same time is busily engaged in enhancing taxes, in tracts which had escaped his scrutiny. He thereby lays more eggs of famine. For two or three years these are hatched. This tract also becomes included in the famine domain, and when famine occurs it is more serious than the previous ones and greater steps are found necessary to overcome it.

Thus, like a recurring decimal, the process goes on, the country is enfamished, more than 80 per cent. of the population suffers from want of food; and this state of things is justified by the Secretary of State for India who blames God for giving us bad seasons. It is a wonder how this state of things, too notorious not to be known to anyone of ordinary capacity, is not acknowledged. Let us hope that Lord Curzon will be able to grasp the evil and apply the proper remedy, viz., equitable assessment on land variable only on account of prices, and to be collected with no rigour.—Yours, etc.,

R. Ragoonath Row.

(A hereditary Land-holder and a retired Government Officer of more than thirty years.)

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, May 24.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WHERE ARE THE BOUNDARIES?

Mr. Pickersgill asked the Secretary of State for India whether the proposed new cantonment at Torawari, in the Miranzai Valley, was within or outside of the statutory boundary-line of British India:

What was the estimated cost of construction of the new outpost, together with the water supply to be provided for it, and what would be the annual cost of maintaining troops there:

And, had the military station at Wano or any other cantonments and outposts set up since 1893 in the Waziristan country been withdrawn since August last, or had any of the regular troops formerly stationed in the trans-frontier territory been brought back into India, in accordance with the policy of concentration on the true frontier of British India, as announced at various times during the last two years.

Lord G. Hamilton: I am not aware of the precise significance which the Honourable Member attaches to the expression "statutory boundary line," but the proposed new cantonment at Torawari lies well within the Durand boundary line that marks the Afghan-British frontier.

No estimate can at present be given of the cost of the proposed cantonment.

It has not so far been found expedient to withdraw the garrison of Wana, nor has any material reduction of the troops stationed at frontier outposts taken place since August last but the policy indicated in the despatch of January, 1898, is being steadily and continuously advanced.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would state whether there was any change in the situation in India as to the famine;

Whether he would give the latest returns as to the total number in receipt of relief from the State;

Whether he could give the famine statistics with reference to the principal provinces;

Whether he had any recent information as to the spread of the plague in India;

And whether, in view of the interest in the position of affairs in India, he had information which would enable him to lay papers before Parliament dealing with the development of the famine and with the methods adopted by the Government of India to cope with it.

Lord G. Hamilton: There is as yet no material change in the famine situation. Showers have done good in some parts, but the monsoon rains are not yet due.

For the last few months a weekly telegram from the Viceroy giving the numbers on relief and the famine outlook has been published in the newspapers. According to this week's telegram, the total numbers on relief were 5,607,000. These figures would have been higher but for the cholera, which has attacked some of the relief camps in Bombay and in Rajputana, and caused the workers to be dispersed. As yet, however, I have received no detailed reports on this subject.

I propose to lay on the Table papers showing the spread of the famine during the past six months, and the steps taken to relieve distress caused thereby.

Monday, May 28.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PAPERS TO BE PRESENTED.

British India (Income and Expenditure).—An Address was granted for "Return of the net Income and Expenditure of British India,

under certain specified heads, for the eleven years from 1888-9 to 1898-9."—(Sir Henry Fowler.)

Indian Financial Statement, 1900-1.—An Address was granted for "Copy of the Indian Financial Statement for 1900-1, and of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General thereon."—(Sir Henry Fowler.)

THE RAJA OF CANNANORE.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would state what was the present position of the claim of the Sultan Ali, Rájá of Cannanore, to the sovereignty of the Laccadive Islands;

And whether, seeing that the arrears of tribute on account of which the islands were sequestrated by the Government of India in 1876 were subsequently paid, and the islands ordered to be restored to the Rájá through the direct intervention of the Secretary of State for India in 1895, he would give the reasons why the restoration of the property to the Rájá had not been carried out.

Lord G. Hamilton: The matter to which the question refers is under discussion between the Government of India and the Government of Madras; and I am informed that proposals for a final settlement were placed before the latter Government on the 11th of this month. The object of the Government of India is first to secure the well-being and good government of the islanders; and it appears to be extremely doubtful whether this is compatible with the administration of the islands by any member of the Cannanore family, to whose claims and interests, however, due consideration will be given in any decision that may be arrived at.

SOVEREIGNS AND RUPEES.

Mr. Samuel Smith asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that numbers of money-sweating establishments had lately been set up in various parts of India for the purpose of sweating the gold coin now in circulation there, with the result that shopkeepers in Calcutta and elsewhere did not take sovereigns freely, and in many cases found it necessary to keep scales to test the weight of sovereigns which had only been in circulation for a few weeks:

And whether the sovereigns which the Government of India were now issuing at post offices in payment of money orders, at the rate of one sovereign for fifteen rupees, were already often deficient in weight, through having undergone the operation of sweating, with the result that hardship was caused to the poor and ignorant classes who were compelled to take sovereigns instead of rupees; and, if so, what steps the Government of India proposed to take to suppress these money-sweating establishments.

Lord G. Hamilton: I have been in communication with the Government of India on the subject of the hon. member's question, and find that they have no information to the effect suggested. As there is at present hardly any gold in circulation among the people the statement that sweating is already extensively practised does not seem likely to be correct. But the Government of India will not lose sight of the possibility that such a practice may arise, and I know that they have already had it under consideration.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.
PAPERS TO BE PUBLISHED.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India, whether he could state when he would be able to lay upon the Table papers showing the spread of the famine in India during the last six months, and the steps taken to relieve the distress.

Lord G. Hamilton: The papers will be laid on the Table at once; but they are voluminous.

THE G.I.P. RAILWAY.

Mr. Lloyd Morgan asked the Secretary of State for India, whether he would state the amount of Great Indian Peninsula five per cent. guaranteed stock held by the trustees of the sinking fund of the D annuities on April 1, 1899, January 1, 1900, and May 1, 1900, respectively.

Lord G. Hamilton: The only information I have on this subject is contained in the half-yearly returns published in the London *Gazette*, from which I find that on January 25, 1899, the funds invested in respect of the Annuities Class D. of the East India Railway included £3,541 9s. 6d. of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway 5 per cent. Capital Stock. In the subsequent returns there is no mention of such stock.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

Mr. Maclean asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having regard to the fact that the French Government in February last adopted a new import tariff which imposes increased duties on, among other articles, coffee, pepper, spices, and tea, which may tend to hamper Indian trade with France, if he could state whether it had been imposed by France in retaliation for the countervailing duties levied by India on French beetroot sugar.

Mr. Brodrick: Her Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that the new French import tariff on the articles referred to has been adopted in retaliation for the countervailing duties on sugar in India. I may add that the amount of sugar sent from France to India is inconsiderable.

THE INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Mr. Cohen asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would lay upon the Table of the House a memorandum giving the method by which in each instance of the four Indian railways acquired by him the rates of interest on the respective annuities were calculated, and also, for the purpose of comparison, the same details in respect of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

Lord G. Hamilton: I have no objection to laying on the Table the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Bank of England as to the rate of interest for the calculation of annuities in the cases of the Eastern Bengal, the Scinde, Punjab, and Delhi, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Companies; but that correspondence, though it states the rate of interest settled will not show the method in which the interest was calculated in the two former cases. There is no other case of the acquisition of a Railway by the State in which any similar reference to the Bank of England has been necessary.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.
IMPORTANT DISCUSSION.

In the course of the debate on the motion for adjournment of the House until June 14,

Mr. Maclean called attention to the serious condition of affairs in India, and asked the Government to state plainly to the House and to the country what they intended to do in the matter. This was incomparably the worst evil that had befallen India within his recollection. (Hear, hear.) By its widespread character and its intensity this famine had outgrown the capacity of the Government of India to deal with it. (Hear, hear.) One did think that human life would be protected, but he was sorry to say this had not turned out to be the case, for many communications received from India showed that there had been a very serious loss of life owing to this famine. (Hear, hear.) He constantly received letters on the subject, and by the last mail he found in the newspapers of Bombay a letter by a gentleman who signed his own name and who described a visit he made to one of the so-called relief camps, which were often nothing but human shambles, where people were tortured slowly to death. (Hear, hear.) The village cattle had simply died in millions, fodder being absolutely unattainable, and so widespread and so terrible had been this cattle mortality that many years must elapse before the animals could be replaced. The writer (Mr. F. C. Aldrich) said: "We had never thought that such a state of affairs ever existed in India. On every hand were the dead and dying. Sometimes it was an aged person, sometimes a youth, or an infant. The sun beat down at an almost unbearable rate. The wind carried the sand in hurricane style. There was scarcely any noise, though there were many people. They sat and lay quietly in groups of from five to fifty beneath trees and by the roadside. Often one had fallen alone, and was left there to die as he had fallen. The living, the dying, and the dead were all together. If the spirit of an individual left the body in the very centre of a group of these unfortunates no one attempted its removal. Why should they? All have sat or lain down there to die, and one by one they meet death—they all wait for it. They are helpless and they say there is no one who will give, so resigning themselves to their awful fate they lie down and die." That was the description given by an eye-witness. (Hear, hear.) What was worse, he found a serious accusation made against the Government by a very competent witness who declared that the so-called relief the Government was providing for the people was insufficient to keep body and soul together, and that the poor people were left in that way to become victims of disease. He was quoting from the correspondent of a Manchester newspaper, a capable journalist well known in London, Mr. Vaughan Nash, who had gone out for the purpose of seeing the course of this famine for himself and reporting the facts for the people of this country. Mr. Nash devoted the whole of one letter and a portion of another to the subject of the penal minimum of relief. The wages throughout the relief works, as he told his readers, were paid in money, and based on a hypothetical ration of so much grain, salt, vegetables, condiments, and oil, a maximum and a minimum being fixed, and the whole adjusted to the price of grain in the bazaar. A circular had been issued decreeing that all gangs performing less than half the maximum task—an imaginary standard, by the way, which no single gang had accomplished during the week in question—should be paid 25 per cent. below the minimum, so that instead of 10½ annas, the former weekly minimum, the men and women in the defaulting gangs were getting 7½ and the working children 4½ annas.

Lord G. Hamilton: What is the locality?

Mr. Maclean said he could not give the locality. Whether the people could subsist on this penal allowance without ripening for cholera and other famine diseases was a question which the correspondent decided in the negative, and he urged it as an ominous fact that whilst the minimum was being cut down by a quarter—a minimum which assumed that only fifteen ounces of solid food a day would go into the stomachs of people who must work nine hours between the rising and the setting of an Indian sun—cholera was on the march in Khandesh. "God help India," he wrote, "if cholera attacks the famine camps." Since that letter was written cholera had attacked the relief camps, with the result that many of the poor people had fled—Heaven knew where—without any means of subsistence. The picture was one which shocked every man's sense of humanity. (Hear, hear.) The fact was that the Government of of India had not the capacity to deal with famine of this kind. The high officials were men of great intelligence and with a keen sense of honour, and no doubt they worked as hard as any human beings could work to relieve the distress, but necessarily a great deal of the work was left to subordinates. We were relying entirely on the Government of India in this matter, but what did the Government of India do? At the head of affairs was an active-minded and enterprising Viceroy who had a keen sense of his duty and responsibility—a man who had given lavishly out of his own purse, and done his best to stimulate the energies of all the members of the Administration beneath him, but he might have done something more—something that would have put a spirit of hope into the hearts of the people and contributed to make the management of the famine easier to the officers of these districts. He might have gone down from the mountain heights of Simla and travelled through the length and breadth of the land, seeing these famine camps for himself and watching the operation of the famine relief given by the Government. (Hear, hear.) It was time for England to do something in this matter. (Cheers.) India had failed to accomplish the task alone, and England ought to stretch out a helping hand to these gentle and patient people, who lay down by the wayside without offering a word or making a sign. (Cheers.)

Lord G. Hamilton said that the hon. member had made a very remarkable speech. India had been visited by a terrible famine, the

worst famine of the century. It had attacked areas which had not hitherto been affected by drought in the memory of man. It had affected a large area of the Native States, and had taxed both their organisation and financial resources. He protested against the speech of his hon. friend. The hon. gentleman had selected one or two isolated scraps from newspapers in association with places, he did not know where, and he had given to the House the distress and the misery which might have been seen in those places as a specimen of the class of relief and the famine administration of the British Government. That was a gross libel on the British Government. Only yesterday he had received a report from America, where a great interest was shown in the sufferings of the Indian people. In America they were endeavouring to obtain funds from private individuals for the purpose of supplementing the action of the Government. (Hear, hear.) A great meeting was held in New York the other day by Indian missionaries who had visited the spots, and the substance of their report came very opportunely. They were devising a plan for raising a fund to relieve distress in India and to make a general appeal to the American people. Here was the substance of their appeal to the American people, taken from the *New York Times* of April 25: "It is right we should bear our witness that the British Government in India is doing all that any government on earth could do to save the lives of its distressed subjects in relieving 5,500,000 of persons by direct Government aid. It is achieving a greater work of rescue than any Government has ever in the world's history undertaken before. With a skill derived from the carefully-garnered experience of previous famine campaigns, with an unstinted expenditure of money and an heroic outlay of British energy and lives, it is doing all that an administration can do. But alongside of its efforts there is a vast area in which private munificence can effect what governmental interference cannot usefully attempt, and there is here a call to every human heart the wide world over." (Cheers.)

Dr. Tanner: Can the noble lord tell us who subsidised this report? (Loud cries of "Order.")

The Speaker: If the hon. member makes these interruptions I shall have to call the attention of the House to them.

Mr. Maclean: I said nothing whatever against the Indian Government, and I frankly and gladly acknowledge that they are doing their utmost with the means and the staff at their command, but they ought to be supplemented by aid from England.

Lord G. Hamilton thought that his hon. friend went a little further, because he gave the House to understand that the famine camps were human shambles where persons were slowly tortured to death. Considering that there were 5,500,000 persons in these famine camps, it was obvious that this was a gross and an unpardonable exaggeration. The matter was really so serious that he asked the House to allow him to tell it what was the state of affairs. The great difficulty they had to contend with was that not only was the famine more intense in its operation, not only did it cover a larger area than any famine recorded in the present century, but it affected a large number of areas and districts where famine and drought had been unknown. In 1896-7, when they had no experience for 20 years of famine, he was nervous as to how far the machinery of the Indian Government would respond to the strain then thrown upon it. He was glad to say that on the whole it responded well, and the result of the exertions of the Indian Government was that, although there was a considerable loss of life, yet the effects of famine were averted more than in any previous struggle in which the Government had been engaged. The machinery was carefully supervised. A Commission was appointed; it went from district to district after the famine was over making suggestions and taking evidence as to how the Famine Administration Code could be improved and strengthened. When the famine broke out he had the satisfaction of having to apply to it machinery which two years before had stood a great stress. But in those districts where famine had never occurred before there had been very great difficulty in getting the people to come rapidly enough into the famine camps. There was a deplorable loss of life—166 died of inanition or of having arrived at the camp so emaciated and in such a deplorable condition that they could not stand the efforts made to revive them. The Government had lent officers to these Native States, as well as large sums of money. The advances which have been made to the Native States amounted to 63 lakhs, and this was independent of a very large loan to be made to the State of Haiderabad amounting to two crores. Then the hon. gentleman referred to the Bhils. Nothing could induce the people of that tribe to come into the famine camps. They would not submit to discipline and organisation, and, if they did come in, as soon as they obtained subsistence they went off again. Of course, such a terrible visitation as the present must hit a race of this kind very hard; and, no doubt, in spite of all that the Government could do, there would be a considerable mortality amongst them. As to the cholera, Lord Northcote and Lord Curzon had visited the stricken districts; and Lord Northcote had reported that the disease had broken out from unripe fruit, bad water, and the intense heat. As to the question of the sufficiency of the food allowance he should take the opinion of men who had a life-long experience of the Indian coolie even before that of Mr. Nash, straightforward and honest as he knew that gentleman to be. Nothing had been more carefully gone into than this matter of food. There was a *minimum* and a *maximum*, and the Government had been careful not to put the *maximum* above the level of the normal wage which could be earned in the district. If they did not take that precaution, they would have not only the people suffering from want, but the entire Native population on their hands. As to assistance to India from the Imperial Treasury, he had already declared that the whole financial resources and the whole administrative machinery of India should be devoted to combating this famine. He had said that if there were any lack of funds, or any temporary difficulties in the way of raising the funds, the Indian Government should receive assistance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the House must look at the other side of the question. The financial administration of India must, as far as possible, be made self-supporting. There was an annual sum devoted to making provision against famine in India; and in India and here there was a strong tendency to push and increase the regular expenditure in all sorts of ways. Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer had the taxpayer behind him; but in India the Finance Minister had not that safeguard; and if his inducement to balance his income and expenditure were taken away, he was made powerless to resist demands for new expenditure. The House could accept it from him that at present the Indian Government had sufficient funds to meet this terrible calamity. On what ground, then, could a claim be made on the Imperial Exchequer? It was true that there were 6,000,000 of people now receiving famine relief, and that there was terrible suffering, and in some districts a rising mortality. But in the districts where famine had previously prevailed, where there was knowledge of the system of relief, and where the people had come in freely and early, the rate of mortality was very little over that of normal years. Of course, no comparison could be drawn between ordinary pauperism and the distress caused by famine; but the six millions now receiving relief compared with the 300 millions in India, was not so large a proportion as the normal number of persons receiving poor relief to the total population in this country. In such conditions how could the Imperial Exchequer be asked for assistance? An appeal had been made to the charitable and benevolent because there was a large amount of relief which could be discharged by private effort. Special food and clothing could be distributed, and a house-to-house visitation could be conducted by private effort in a way which would be quite beyond the scope of Government. As far as possible these two agencies should be combined; but he thought it would be a fatal mistake to attempt now, when there was no lack of funds at the disposal of the Indian Government, to get the House of Commons to contribute a large sum for the purpose, not of carrying out the Government's task but of supplementing it by charitable operations. The danger was that by an Imperial grant the sources of charity would be dried up; and while the charge which was put on the Indian Government would remain, India would be deprived of that relief on which she could always depend now from charitable sources. He could assure the House that the Government were watching with the closest attention the progress of the famine. In the course of the next few days the normal rainfall might be expected to begin; and then in the next few weeks there would be a steady diminution of those now receiving relief in the famine camps. If it were found at any time that there was any difficulty in supplementing the numbers of officers, doctors, and nurses, the Government would not hesitate to draw to the utmost extent on the reserves available in this country; and in the same way, if it were found that there was any lack of financial resources, he should not hesitate to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give the Indian Government the assistance which, as he had already informed the House, he was ready to give. (Hear, hear.)

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, in the course of his speech, said that he regretted that instead of spending money to save the lives of starving people in India, we were spending it to kill Boers in South Africa.

SIR GEORGE WHITE AND BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Speaking at a banquet given in his honour by the Ulster Association in London on Monday evening, Sir George White said:—

There has been a great deal said about our soldiers, their bravery and their endurance. I am also glad to acknowledge what has been said about our Navy and our Colonial forces, but there was the poor Natives of India—a section of the community in Ladysmith about whom very little has been said. I had a great number of them inside the fortress with me. They may be divided into two sections—one section belonged to the followers of the British regiments which were sent from India, and which, like our gallant friends the sailors, arrived in the nick of time to save Natal. The others were low-class coolies who had been employed in the mines in Natal, or driven in before the advancing overwhelming forces of the Transvaal or the Orange Free State. I have never seen anything to equal the munificence with which the people of this country have subscribed to give everything to their soldiers and their sailors, but I would like to say a word for these poor followers who are drawing pay at Indian rates, which puts them on very inferior terms to the soldiers with whom they are serving, and in very inferior conditions to those which they would be enjoying in their own country at the same rates. To give you some idea of what these poor people do whom I am commending to your consideration when further subscription lists may go round, I should like to tell you a story or two. One of the better class of the followers of the Gordon Highlanders—a regiment which I think has distinguished itself more, if possible, than its fellows on both sides—(loud cheers)—resolved to make himself a look-out man for the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, the old 92nd. The gun which troubled us most in the bombardment of Ladysmith was one on the Bulwana, a 6-in Creuzot gun. This Native studied this gun. The favourite mark for the gun was the camp of the Gordon Highlanders. It was such a very big gun that we could see it lowered to come into action, and this Native made himself into a look-out man with this view; he had a pair of binocular glasses and he set himself in a tree. When he saw the gun pointed towards the Gordon Highlanders' camp he used to whistle as a warning. The buglers took up the signal and you should have seen the men run to the bombproof shelters. (Laughter and cheers.) It was a black-powder gun, and we could see the discharge. As the range was between 8,000 and 9,000 yards we had 25 seconds to leave any work

we were doing in the open and to seek shelter behind the bombproof shelters provided. You have no idea, Ladies and Gentlemen, how far a man can go in 25 seconds. (Laughter and cheers.) I could tell you other stories of the same sort about these poor Indian coolies. How they were organised into a body of grass-cutters, and used to cut grass under the fire of the enemy. I often met them, and as I have been for a long time in India, I can talk their language well. I used to say, "What has occurred to-day!" They used to put up their hands like this (imitating the gesture) and say, "Sahib, two men killed, three wounded," or whatever it might be, and they always went back to the same place and cut grass or did anything else we wanted them to do. (Cheers.)

The *Morning Leader* wrote on Tuesday: We are glad to see that Sir George White, in his speech last night, gave special prominence to the case of our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa. It will be a scandal if their interests are not adequately protected in the settlement which follows the war. Complaint has rightly been made of the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal. But, as we have more than once explained, two important facts have to be remembered with reference to it: (1) That it was the result of legislation deliberately assented to by our Colonial Office, which watched with equanimity the frittering away of the rights of British Indians under the Convention of London; and (2) that, bad as was the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal, they suffered worse indignities in Natal at the hands of their white fellow-subjects of the Crown. Indeed, as it happens, Ladysmith itself has been a conspicuous name in the story of wrong done to the Indians. They made a noble return for this harshness when the war broke out. Enrolling themselves voluntarily as stretcher-bearers, they quickly won by their gallantry under fire the enthusiastic praise both of our soldiers in the field and even of the colonial journals which had been most bitterly opposed to the Indian claims. Their claims in equity are now reinforced by services rendered. It will be one of our bounden duties when the war is over to see that they get justice not only in the Transvaal but throughout our South African colonies.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN EXPENDITURE.

THE MINORITY REPORT.

The following is the text of the Minority Report (which is signed by Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. W. S. Caine) continued from page 255 of our last issue:—

69. An important consideration with regard to exchange under ordinary circumstances is that it constitutes expenditure which is largely outside the control of the Government of India. It is, however, not all of it of this unavoidable character, and it will be convenient to distinguish between that portion of the charge for exchange which may be called "automatic," and that portion which, like any other increase of expenditure, has been voluntarily incurred by Government during the period under review. In reviewing progress of expenditure it is essential to avoid making the assumption that the whole increase in the cost of exchange may be set on one side as the result of causes beyond control. There are, at least, three main causes of an increase in the cost of exchange:—

(1) A fall in the exchange value of the rupee.
(2) An increase in sterling charges.
(3) Compensation given to employees of Government not included in the terms of their original contract of service.

70. The first cause is obviously "automatic." The second is only "automatic" to a small extent, for instance, in so far as it is due to the scale increase of pensions and other home charges subject to annual increment by efflux of time. Any additions to sterling charges on railway account—and they have been very heavy—or on loans are clearly not "automatic." The third cause is obviously not "automatic" at all. The importance of this distinction will become manifest when the charge for exchange is broken up into its constituent parts. In 1875-6 the net sterling charges of the Government of India were £12,502,000, in 1884-5 they had increased to £13,844,000, and in 1895-6 to £15,380,000. Thus during the first nine years the sterling expenditure of the Government of India increased by £1,342,000, and in the next eleven years by £1,536,000. To remit £1,500,000 in 1895-6 cost (at the rate of Rs.17½ for every £1) for exchange alone (*i.e.*, Rs.7½ × 1,500,000) Rs. 11,250,000 or Rx. 1,125,000. Therefore Rx. 1,125,000 included in the charge for exchange in 1895-6, represents additional expenditure incurred since 1884-5. Bearing these facts in mind the increase in the cost of exchange may be shown thus:—

Increase in Net Cost of Exchange.

(*i*) 1875-6 to 1884-5.

	Rx.
Total increase as shown above (Table VII) ..	2,101,400
Deduct Cost of Exchange on addition to sterling charges £1,342,000, costing for exchange alone Rs. 2 45 per £	328,800
Automatic increase in cost of exchange due to fall in the value of the rupee	1,772,600

(*ii*) 1884-5 to 1895-6.

	Rx.
Total increase as shown above (Table VII) ..	10,455,000
Deduct (*a*) Cost of Exchange on addition to sterling charges £1,536,000, costing for exchange alone Rs. 7·5 per £	1,152,000
(*b*) Exchange compensation	1,327,600
Total of (*a*) and (*b*)	2,479,600
Automatic increase in cost of exchange due to fall in the value of the rupee	7,975,400

71. Taking, therefore, the second and more important period (1884-5 to 1895-6), the real increase in the cost of exchange due to uncontrollable causes may be put at Rx. 8,000,000 during the eleven years, and nearly Rx. 2,500,000 of the increase falling under the head of exchange must be classed as increase of expenditure not automatic in its character, but part and parcel of the financial action of the Government of India in increased military expenditure and exchange compensation. A similar analysis of the increased cost of exchange for the period 1884-5 to 1898-9 would work out as follows:—

Increase in Net Cost of Exchange, 1884-5 to 1898-9.

	Rx.
Total increase (from Rx. 3,535,900 to Rx. 9,253,600)	5,717,700
Deduct (*a*) Cost of Exchange on addition to sterling charges £2,250,000, costing in 1898-9 for exchange alone Rs. 5 per £	1,125,000
(*b*) Exchange compensation	483,600
Total of (*a*) and (*b*)	1,608,600
Automatic increase in cost of exchange	4,109,100

Which again shows the immense effect upon the finances of the Government of India exercised by the recent return to a higher level of the exchange value of the rupee.

72. It remains to consider one other important point in connexion with this question of exchange, and that is the incidence of the charge under the different heads of expenditure. A very large part of the burden of exchange is due to the deliberate policy of the Government of India in incurring heavy gold liabilities in connexion with the development of railway communication in India. The charge for exchange under the head of railway revenue account is heavier than under any other head, and represents to-day about one-third of the total charge. In spite of this fact and in spite of an enormous increase on this account during the eleven years 1885-6 to 1895-6 the net charge for railways in the accounts of the Government of India has not increased rateably with the increased burden of exchange. The following figures establish this point.

Exchange and Railway Revenue Account.

	1884-5.	1895-6.	1898-9.
Net Sterling Charges ..	£4,791,148	£5,747,782	£5,874,200
Cost of Exchange	Rx. 1,164,210	Rx. 4,366,989	Rx. 2,937,100
Total Net Charges on Revenues of India ..	Rx. 1,051,751	Rx. 1,620,268	Rx. 878,100

Increase in Sterling Charges, 1884-5 to 1895-6	£956,636
Increase in Cost of Exchange, 1884-5 to 1895-6	Rx. 3,204,779
Increase in Total Net Charges, 1884-5 to 1895-6 ..	Rx. 568,517

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

On May 21, a meeting was held under the auspices of the Wigan and District Women's Liberal Association at the Reform Club, Wigan, to hear an address from Miss Garland on the Famine in India. Councillor Fyans presided over a good attendance. Having spent many years in India he was able to picture the scenes that Miss Garland would describe. A resolution was unanimously adopted calling for an immediate grant of money from Parliament and urging a searching enquiry into the economic condition of the Indian rayat. A collection was taken for the Indian Famine Fund.

On May 22, Miss Garland addressed a public meeting at Willaston, near Crewe. The Mayoress of Crewe presided, and Miss Garland gave a graphic description of her visit to India, and enlarged especially on measures that would conduce to mitigate the evils of a failure of the monsoon. A collection was taken for the Indian Famine Fund.

On May 23, Miss Garland addressed a public meeting at the Temperance Hall, South Bristol, on Indian questions. Miss Tanner presided, supported by Councillors Parsons, W. A. Latham, J. Pembery, and others. A resolution was passed urging Parliament to grant several millions to the Famine Fund, and a good collection was taken at the close of the meeting.

NOW READY.

CONGRESS GREEN BOOK.—No. III.

The Proposed Separation OF Judicial and Executive Duties in India.

MEMORIAL

FROM

RT. HON. LORD HOBHOUSE, K.C.S.I.
(late Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council, Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council).

RT. HON. SIR RICHARD GARTH, Q.C.
(late Chief Justice of Bengal).

RT. HON. SIR RICHARD COUCH
(late Chief Justice of Bengal, Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council).

SIR CHARLES SARGENT
(late Chief Justice of Bombay.)

SIR WILLIAM MARKBY, K.C.I.E.
(late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta).

SIR JOHN BUDD PHEAR
(late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta, and Chief Justice of Ceylon).

SIR JOHN SCOTT, K.C.M.G.
(late Judge of the High Court, Bombay).

SIR W. WEDDERBURN, BART., M.P.
(late Judge of the High Court, Bombay).

SIR ROLAND K. WILSON, BART.
(late Reader in Indian Law at the University of Cambridge).

MR. HERBERT J. REYNOLDS, C.S.I.
(late Member of the Bengal Legislative Council).

TOGETHER WITH TWO APPENDICES.

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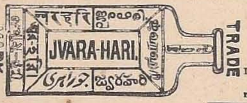

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